If it concerns the parents of a third person, the term used is usually //(e)ĩb di //gũ/b (respectively -s) or //(e)ĩb di ĩ/b (respectively -s), i.e. his father (respectively his mother). 601

Without breaking the above-mentioned rules, the following expressions that I also heard frequently are correct: sa //gũ/b, sa ĩ/b, thy father and correspondingly thy mother. Further I heard (e)ĩb di dāb(ais), his father (his mother).

The stepmother is *õ!gã/'//gũ/s, i.e. "the mother who stands behind the one who bore the child."

The designation *abo·b for the father I found only in the language of the folktales, never in conversation.

c) I noticed a great variety of addresses used between siblings. At first I thought I was hearing terms of endearment or teasing names. But when I sought to determine their meaning, I came upon rigid norms which indicate the Hottentots' strong sense of age rank even within the sibling circle (!gãb, -s, -n = brother, sister, siblings); it is the exclusive privilege of the older siblings to call the younger ones by name. The younger siblings designate the oldest sister, the person who commands the most respect among the siblings, as *ausis (3. f.), when speaking to her or about her. The next oldest one or ones are called *sirõ-s (3. st.). The younger siblings address the oldest brother as *a·budib. The next oldest one or ones are called *bi·dirob. [561]

d) I have been able to find out the least about the in-law relationships. The relationship of the four in-laws to their married children is the same in address as it is between parents and children; they use the second person singular. The in-laws are called /u/i·b and /u/i·s in the third person.

The wife is called *!oaras in address by her husband's relatives or when she is spoken about in the third person. By all the feminine relatives of her husband, with the exception of her mother-in-law, without consideration for differences in age, she is called χaĕ.s.

[302] /u·/iaob means brother-in-law. In the word /u·/igukχa, that is used to designate two brothers-in-law, the reciprocal particle, -gu, seems to express the equality of rank between the two in relation to each other and the onesided relationship of respect for the parents-in-law.

Some light on the position of the brother-in-law in the family is shed by the phrase with which the Hottentot occasionally appeases a whirlwind: "/u/iaob //goĕ!" Just as one does not make the children cry in the presence of the brother-in-law by spanking them and does 784 789

with the strap next to the drawing rope etc. They seem less interested in the wonderful sight of 24 grasshoppers yoked together than they are in imitating as well as they can the customs of the adults. 857 524

In their games, in spite of all the childish activity in any particular one, there is often much that has an educational value. The boys do not always band together just for brief games and then scatter; they often organize themselves together for a year or longer. They elect a chief, a captain, who chooses his lieutenant; as all older boys do, these two choose younger ones as personal servants. Punishment for disobedience, a tribute of tobacco or food, is not merely playful; it is often quite serious for a boy who has to earn his own keep. The captain has to abstain from using physical force. He delegates one of his group to carry out any punishment that he considers necessary. The adults allow their boys to be judged by their contemporaries and thereby strengthen the system of the self-education of youth. 857 561

Because of the early sexual maturity of this race, it is not surprising that the boys often have sexual intercourse before they have outgrown childish games. In one case the boy had to pay the chief a tribute. In another case the captain even decided arguments in love affairs. He took a girl away from one boy and gave her to another and thus overstepped the bounds of childish play. 836 857

When there are no clashes with other groups to satisfy their belligerent feelings, war games are sometimes arranged. If, for example, [310] one of the cattle guards has found a thorn bush with wasp nests, then the group arms itself with sling shots which they make out of a piece of skin and two straps. They take their stand about 20 paces from the tree. It is now the duty of the lieutenant to climb up the tree and to break a piece of the nest loose and bring it to the captain. It is no easy test of courage for the boy, clothed only in a leather apron, to approach the angry swarm. Once he has completed this task, the band begins the bombardment of the nests. In the case that I remember the boys did not succeed in destroying the nests. As a punishment on that evening they were not allowed to drink milk from their goats which their parents or masters had turned over to them for their needs. 857 526

Outwardly, the //abi game imitates the military customs of the adults only symbolically. In the imagination, however, they are clearly visible. A thorn from the giraffe acacia or the thorn tree is placed on a thin stick that is slightly longer than a finger. This arrowlike toy is chasped between the fingers as the illustration shows and flipped forward and down by withdrawing the thumb, sending it into a pile of reeds as long as a finger. These are in the open or covered with sand so that they will not scatter when the thorn

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

and by a woman to her husband's mother, husbands sister, brother's wife, and son's wife. Finally, the husbands of two sisters call each other *Igámireb* or *Igámeb*, while the wives of two brothers call each other *Igámes*.

These linguistic usages are in many cases correlated with specific rules and observances regulating the conduct with regard to one another of a person, and all those to whom he applies any term of relationship, the nature of these rules and observances varying according to the nature of the relationship. To take only some of the more immediately striking instances, we find that the use of the term *gei tàras*, "great respected one," for the father's sister is correlated with the fact that great deference is due to a woman on the part of her brother's children. The occasional use of the terms *aob*, "husband," and *tarás*, "wife," between cross-cousins of opposite sexes implies that marriage is permissible between them, and this is actually found to be the case; while, on the other hand, the use of the term */gān*, brother or sister, between ortho-cousins rules out the idea of marriage and implies a type of behaviour between them different from that between cross-cousins. The careful manner, again, in which these kinship terms distinguish the relative ages of the person speaking and of the person referred to reflects the extreme regard for age running right through the social life of the Hottentots. The type of behaviour expected of one person towards another is thus often directly indicated by the kinship term in use between them. The *terms of relationship*, in other words, also often express *actual social relationships*. These play a great part in the whole moral regulation of the lives of the people, and will be discussed in some detail in the following chapter, when the social life of the Hottentots is considered.

Family Servants

The families of the more wealthy Naman frequently have attached to them a few people in the capacity of servants or dependents.[1] These servants are mostly Bergdama, a people of negro stock which has long been in subjection to the Naman, but sometimes also include Bushmen, Ovaherero, or even impoverished Naman. Many of them were taken or picked up in the old days as small children, after

[1] Hoernlé, op. cit., 17; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 304; Fritsch, op. cit., 364; Olpp, op. cit., 24; Kohler, op. cit., 340–1; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 681; *idem*, "Ueber Rechtsbewusstsein . . . der Naman," 278.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

and during the day, when the cattle are at pasture, he is fed upon this milk. The little boys early begin to herd the goats, every boy being entrusted with a number, whose milk he may use. It is not long before he is able to catch a beast with great dexterity out of the running flock, sit under or behind it, and milk it into his mouth. The little girls remain always with their mother, and gradually learn to assist her in the daily household tasks; to see that a standing supply of firewood is maintained, to prepare the food and the ointments for the body, to fetch water, to make the reed mats, and keep the hut in repair, and so on.[1]

Among themselves the children play games of various kinds. In some they imitate the doings of their elders—catch mice, for example, put them into a small kraal, then castrate all the males excepting one, which is kept as the ram of the herd. They prepare small bows and arrows for themselves, with which they hunt small animals such as lizards, mice, and birds; make clay figures of human beings, cattle and other animals which they burn in the fire; and compete with one another in throwing sticks to a distance, concealing stones in their hands, and so on.

Children of about the same age, both boys and girls, who grow up together in the same place, regard one another as "mates" (*/gui //han*) for the rest of their lives. Often enough they do not address one another by name, but use the intimate terms *aotse* (voc. of *aob*, man or husband) and *axiase* (voc. of *xais*, woman or wife). As children they play together in bands, usually closely organized for a year or more. They elect for themselves a "captain", who chooses his "lieutenant"; both have younger boys as their personal servants. They direct all the games and other activities, and even settle the love disputes of the others. Disobedience of their orders or such misbehaviour as sexual intercourse is punished with a fine of tobacco or food, often enough a fairly severe penalty when food is none too plentiful. The adults are content to leave in their hands the regulation of their coevals, thereby strengthening this system of self-government of the young. In later life the close bond between age-mates remains unbroken, and, indeed, the whole spirit of their relations is one of deep friendship and mutual obligation throughout life.[2]

In social life generally age carries prestige, and differences in status are often marked to some extent by relative age. Every junior is

[1] Schultze, op. cit. 399; *idem*, "Südwestafrika," 207; Schinz, op. cit., 98.
[2] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 308–15; cf. Hoernlé, "Social Value of Water," 322–3.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

561 expected to be of service to his elders. In company, according to
[576] Olpp, only coevals may sit and discuss together; and when once a person has taken up the word, he may not be interrupted before he has had his say.[1]

561 In family life also respect for age is inculcated in every way. The
593 children, as we have seen, remain in the same hut as their parents till marriage, and are thus directly dependent upon them both morally and for the means of subsistence. The authority of the parents makes itself felt at all stages of life, and they must be treated with affection
588 and regard. This is seen especially in old age. Although, as we shall
603 subsequently notice, old people might under special circumstances
576 be abandoned to their fate, as among the Bushmen, yet normally the grandparents are regarded with deference; they are spared all possible work, and everyone in the family has the duty of being helpful to them. The terms *ti //ndob* "my grandfather", or *ti //ndosa* "my grandmother", are used as expressions of extreme respect, not only to one's own grandparents, but also to old people in no way related to the family.[2]

561 Among brothers and sisters the same regard is noticed for relative
576 age. We have already seen how in the kraal their huts are ranged in
593 definite order of seniority, and the mere fact that there is this tendency for brothers to live together indicates the strength of family feeling. Of a number of brothers the eldest always has the honoured place and the first voice in any debate; in family affairs his opinion carries authority. Only elders may address their juniors directly by name. They themselves must be spoken to by special terms: *ousis* in the case of the eldest sister, *siros* or *sisiros* in the case of all others older than the speaker; *aboadib* for the eldest brother, and *budirob* for the others. The behaviour proper to brothers is due also to all the people called "brother", and little difference is made, says Mrs. Hoernlé, by the fact that they may be, for example, the sons of the father's brother, and not of one's own father.[3]

576 Between brothers and sisters, however, there is a strong taboo in
593 later life, although as children they may run about together. A sister is a *skras*, a person to be respected, not to be spoken to or of lightly, and her brother is said to be shy, *sou*, in her presence. He must never

[1] *Angra Pequena*, 23.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 300.
[3] Hoernlé, "Social Organisation of the Nama," 21; Schultze, op. cit., 301. The term *ousis* is derived from the Dutch *ou*, old, and *zuster*, sister; *siros* or *sisiros* are formed with the Nama diminutive particle *ro*. *Aboadib* and *budirob* are similarly derived from the Dutch *broer*, brother.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

823 271 712

Sir James Alexander† tells us that the Hottentots of the Kuisib river had to make an offering to Tusib before they could drink water with safety. Alexander calls the man of whom he speaks a Bushman, but his name shows that he was a Nama. 'Numeep, the Bushman guide, came to me labouring under an attack of dysentery and he said that he was about to die! I asked him what had occasioned the disease; and he said it was from having dug for water at the place called Kuisib, in the bed of the Kuisib river, without first having made an offering, and that therefore he was sure to die unless I could help him. I asked him what he meant by saying he had made no offering at Kuisib. 'Before any Bushman,' said Numeep, 'digs for water at Kuisib he must lay down a piece of flesh, seeds of the Narsa, or an arrow, or anything else he may have about him and can spare as an offering to Toosip, the old man of the water.' I asked Numeep if he had ever seen Toosip. 'No, I have never seen him, nor has anyone else that I know of, but we believe that he is a great Redman with white hair, and who can do us good and harm. He has neither bow nor assegai nor has he a wife.' 'Do you say anything to him when you put down your offering at the waterplace?' 'We say, Oh! great father, son of a Bushman, give me food; give me the flesh of the rhinoceros, of the gemsbok, of the zebra, or what I require to have! But I was in such a hurry to drink this morning that I scratched away the sand above the water and took no notice of Toosip; and he was so angry, that if you had not helped me I must have died!'

823 751

Nowadays the natives do not know anything of Tusip, but Top is the rain and Tu ǂOap is the rain wind, so that we have here at any rate the rain, or water-giver. I have not found anything quite similar to this among the present-day natives, but we shall see below that water is dangerous, causing sickness, if not death, unless treated in the proper way, just as in this case.

The last instance I have found in the literature is the following. Hahn* says: "If a Khoikhoi go out hunting, his wife must go to the water and commence throwing it about the ground. If she is tired her servant must continue pouring water about. If this be neglected, her husband will not be successful."

Turning now to the second set of examples, we shall see that persons removed from their regular life in the community are in great danger from water.

571 561

In normal Nama society each person belongs to a definite stratum, as it were, and in each stratum the members have definite duties, know exactly their place in the whole and the correct manner of behaving, both towards the mates in their own stratum, and to those either above or below it. There are, first, the children, divided up into groups of mates, with about

† *An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, 1836-7, Vol. II, p. 128.

* *Tsuni ǁGoam*, p. 77.

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Name

three years between each group, the members of which call each other "mates." When these children attain the age of puberty, they are no longer children, but neither are they as yet full members of the tribe, nor fully grown up, and so for a period more or less prolonged they belong nowhere and are removed from the solidarity and security of their former position. They are in a state of great instability, exposed to dangers of all kinds, and unless they take the greatest care, and follow scrupulously the course of behaviour prescribed for them by their elders, sickness, if not death, will overtake them; but finally they are received into the stratum of the fully grown, and they are then once more secure. Again, people who are married form a definite group, divided, of course, into younger and older married people. If the mate of one of these people dies, the survivor can no longer belong to the group of the married, but must be received into the group of the widowed, and until the full ceremonies have been performed, this person, too, is in a precarious position, and is subject to all kinds of restrictions. Should he or she later on re-marry, they must be received into still another group, that of the twice-wed. But, even within any one group one is liable to be cut off from the full activity of its life, and so from enjoying the full measure of its protection, and at such times, too, life becomes precarious and full of restrictions. Thus, a woman after childbirth is withdrawn from her usual life and must be purified and received once more into her group. So, too, in former days was a girl during her period. Disease, again, removes a man from social life, and he, too, must be cleansed before he can take it up again, and until that is done he must exercise great care. Certain diseases are best cured by the patient being made a member of the group of those who have had it and recovered. The worse a person has had a disease from which he has recovered, the more likely is he to be able to give protection and cure to others. The thing to do, then, is to get oneself inoculated by such a man with his essence, that is, with some of his body-dirt, and so become imbued with his immunity. During this process, again, great care must be exercised.

Now, in all the cases I have instanced, the person whose social equilibrium is, so to speak, unstable, is in great danger from water, and must not on any account touch it. It will be sufficient to give a description of one type of case, for the procedure is the same in all.

When a girl gets her first period, when she is said to Khard, she is at once cut off from the ordinary life of the kraal, is confined in a small dark hut, built inside her mother's, and must lie there quite still, wrapped closely in her sheepskin blanket, not daring even to speak above a whisper. She is, however, visited by her friends, who grind sweet smelling leaves and bark into powder for her, and with this powder, or bushu, she is copiously covered. All the time she is in this hut she must not touch cold water, and must be protected in many other